BRITISH MUSEUM.

GUIDE

TO A

SPECIAL EXHIBITION

OF

GREEK AND LATIN PAPYRI

PRESENTED TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM

BY THE

EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND,

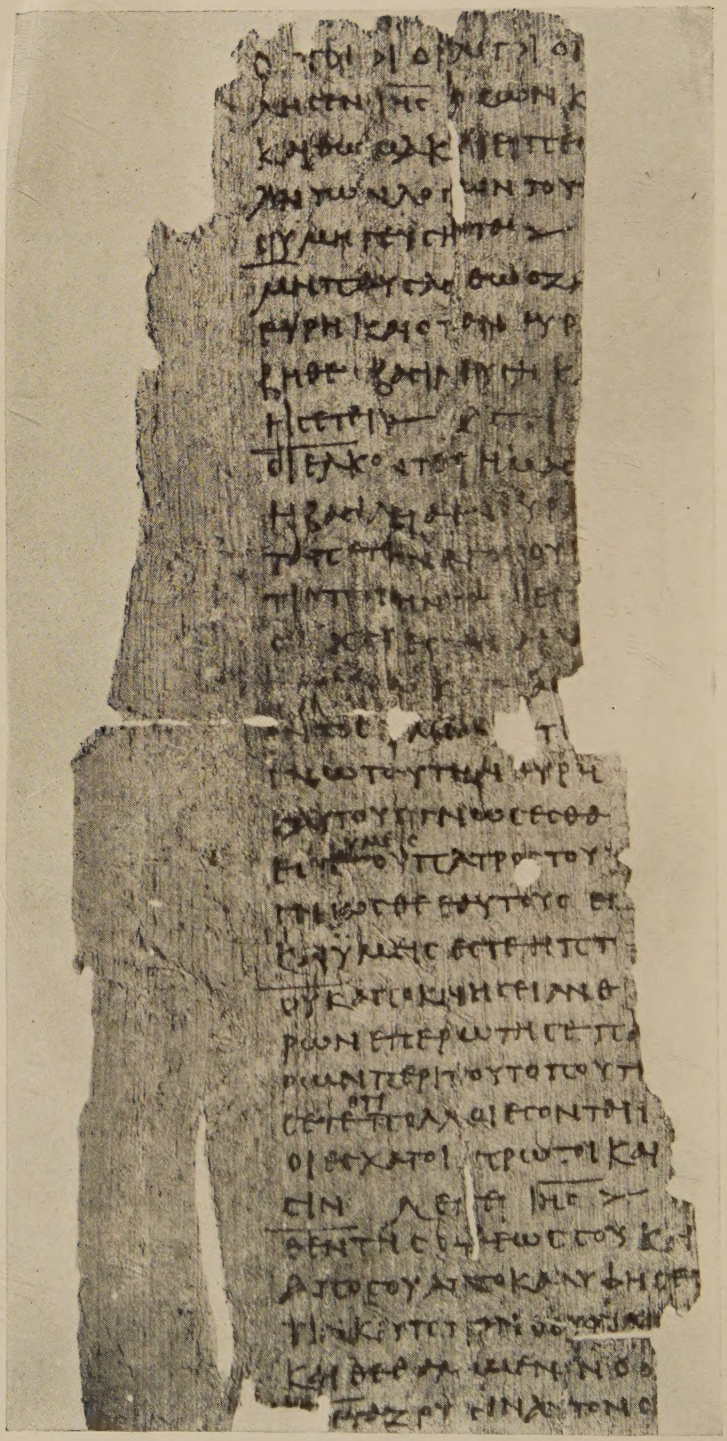
1900–1914.

WITH ONE PLATE.

PRINTED FOR THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY,
AND SOLD AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

1922.

Price 1*s.*



No. 38.—SAYINGS OF JESUS (*Pap.* 1531 *verso*; *Oxy. Pap.* 654).

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PREFACE.

During the twenty-five years that the Graeco-Roman Branch of the Egypt Exploration Society has been in existence, the British Museum has received from it a most valuable series of papyri. Indeed, apart from the great finds which included lost works of Aristotle, Herodas, and Hyperides, it is from Oxyrhynchus that the most important literary papyri have reached the Museum. It is therefore natural that the Museum should be glad to join in the commemoration of the Society's work, and to show its appreciation of the liberality with which it has been treated in the apportionment of the Society's treasures.

The present exhibition, as is more fully explained in Mr. Bell's introduction, is a selection only from the gifts which the Museum has received ; but it will assist to remind visitors that, in supporting the Society, they will be contributing to the advancement of the national collection, and to maintaining its position as the most important assemblage of Greek papyri (especially literary papyri and documents of palaeographic importance) in the world. And the present Guide, in addition to its immediate purpose, may serve as a permanent specimen of the work that the Graeco-Roman Branch has done and is doing for the increase of our knowledge of Greek literature and of the Graeco-Roman world.

F. G. KENYON.

INTRODUCTION.

THE present exhibition of Greek and Latin papyri, temporarily replacing the permanent one in Case A, has been arranged by the British Museum in order to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding by the Egypt Exploration Society (formerly the Egypt Exploration Fund) of its Graeco-Roman Branch, and consists entirely of papyri found in the excavations of the Society and presented by it to the Museum. By its articles of association the Society is precluded from selling any of the objects it obtains, which, after deduction of the proportion claimed by the Museum of Antiquities at Cairo, are presented to institutions of various kinds in the countries from which contributions are made to the Society's funds. The papyri, with which alone this exhibition is concerned, are periodically distributed to institutions in this country and America, as well as on the Continent of Europe; and the British Museum from time to time receives in this way valuable additions to its papyrus collection.

The Graeco-Roman Branch was founded in 1897 with a view to developing the work, already begun by the Society, of searching for and making accessible antiquities, primarily papyri, of Graeco-Roman Egypt. The most important previous undertaking of the Society in this direction was the campaign of 1895–6, when Messrs. Grenfell, Hogarth and Hunt excavated several sites in the Fayum, acquiring a number of papyri subsequently published, along with those found in the campaign of 1898–9, in *Fayum Towns and their Papyri* (1900). The first step taken after the formation of the new Branch was to secure a concession for the site of Behnesa, the ancient Oxyrhynchus. Excavations here, by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, occupied the campaign of 1896–7, after which the site was temporarily abandoned, not because it was exhausted, but because the steady extension of the cultivated area in the Fayum made it a matter of urgency to transfer the efforts of the Branch to that province, lest the papyri which its soil concealed should be irrevocably lost. In the spring of 1903, however, excavations were resumed at Behnesa, and were continued season by season till 1906–7, when the concession was surrendered in the belief that, though the site was by no means exhausted, further excavation was not likely to be so fruitful as to yield an adequate return for the necessary cost. The importance and wealth in papyri of the Behnesa site are briefly dealt with in the introduction to Section III. below.

The Branch undertook no excavation in the season 1897–8, but

in that of 1898–9 Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt continued their researches among the ruins of various Fayum villages. In 1899–1900 they excavated, not for the Society but for the University of California, Umm el-Baragât, the site of the ancient Tebtunis, obtaining a very valuable collection of papyri of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, including some land-survey registers which, so constant are conditions in Egypt, proved of service to the officials of the modern Survey.

In 1900–1 Messrs Grenfell and Hunt resumed work for the Society, once more in the Fayum; but this time they excavated, not the village ruins, but cemeteries, with a view to discovering papyrus cartonnage (see the introduction to Section II. below) of the Ptolemaic period. After trying the sites Kôm Ushîm, Dimê and Rubayyât with very indifferent success, they transferred their attention to Manashinshâneh, where they recovered many Greek and Demotic papyri, mostly of the third century B.C., from mummy cartonnage. The next season they continued their exploration of the Fayum, excavating, again for cartonnage, at Manashinshâneh and its neighbourhood, Talît, Khamsîn, and Illahûn. Again they recovered a fair number of papyri, many of them dating from the middle of the first century B.C. None of these Fayum papyri from cartonnage have yet been published.

In the spring of 1902, after finishing their work at Illahûn, and in consequence of evidence that papyrus cartonnage was being found in the neighbourhood of Hîbeh, on the Nile, they moved thither; and the excavation which they undertook there proved so promising that they resumed work on the same site in the following season, 1902–3. After finishing work at Hîbeh in the spring of 1903, they made further excavations at various sites on the east bank of the Nile, and in the cemetery of Cynopolis.

From the autumn of 1903 to the spring of 1907 the Graeco-Roman Branch devoted its resources to the excavation of Behnesa, after which financial considerations made it necessary to suspend operations for a time; but in the season 1909–10 Messrs. Blackman and Johnson explored the west bank of the Nile between Behnesa and Sidmant el-Gebel, obtaining some cartonnage, and also excavated at Ehnasyet el-Medîneh, with disappointing results.

In 1910–11 Mr. Johnson was at work at Aṭfiḥ, the ancient Aphroditopolis; and in 1911–12, after completing his excavations at Aṭfiḥ, he explored the western desert, south of Behnesa. Unfortunately, most of the cartonnage found had been spoiled, either by damp or by plunderers, and the results in the discovery of papyri were very meagre.

Finally, in 1913–14, the Society obtained a concession for the site of the ancient Antinoopolis, the Greek city founded by Hadrian in honour of his favourite Antinous, and Mr. Johnson excavated this with excellent results. The cartonnage obtained in his previous expeditions still awaits attention, but provisional arrangements have been made for the publication of the Antinoopolite papyri.

The war, with its aftermath of general financial stringency, has made it impossible for the Graeco-Roman Branch to undertake any further excavations at present, but in any case the comparative exhaustion of all the most promising sites and the immense accumulation of still unpublished material, recommended a cessation of field-work; and the resources of the Branch are now devoted to the work of publication.

Papyri are always published before they are distributed among the ultimate recipients; hence, as only the Fayum papyri, found in 1895–6 and 1898–9, part of the Hîbeh papyri found by excavation or bought from natives in the spring of 1902, and a selection of the Oxyrhynchus papyri have yet been published, it is these collections alone which are represented among the texts presented to the British Museum; nor does the limited space available admit of more than a comparatively small proportion of these being shown. Thus the present exhibition is but a selection from a selection, and therefore gives a very inadequate idea even of the activities of the Egypt Exploration Society's discoveries; still less does it properly represent the range and variety of papyrological studies as a whole. Nevertheless, an attempt has been made to render the selection as typical as possible, and the papyri here shown are very various in character and appearance. Many types both of the uncial hand, used for literary works, and of the cursive, employed for the most part in documents, official or private, will be observed; and in date the papyri range from the beginning of the third century B.C. to the sixth century of our era. There are, too, specimens of papyri obtained from all the three main sources of discovery, the ruins of ancient buildings, mummy cartonnage, and rubbish heaps. These three divisions correspond with the three sections into which the exhibition is divided, the Fayum papyri coming mainly from ruins, the Hîbeh papyri from cartonnage, and the Oxyrhynchus papyri from rubbish heaps.

Among the literary texts shown we have one specimen of Homer (No. 1). This is, of course, very far from being the only Homer MS. discovered in the Society's excavations—Homer MSS. are, on the contrary, numerous—nor is it the most important, but it is selected mainly for its palaeographical interest. Lyric poetry is represented by Odes of Sappho (No. 27), Pindar (No. 28), and Bacchylides (No. 29), gnomic and didactic poetry by the *Gnomai* of the Pseudo-Epicharmus (No. 17) and the *meliambi* of Cercidas (No. 32), the drama by a very early MS. of an uncertain tragedy (No. 14), a late codex of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles (No. 31), and almost, or quite, contemporary MSS. of two plays belonging to the New Comedy (Nos. 15 and 16). In the sphere of philosophy there is but one text, an early commentary on the *Topics* of Aristotle (No. 2). History is well represented, notably by the very valuable *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (No. 34), while No. 36, an epitome of Livy, is a specimen at once of Latin historical literature and of the Roman semi-uncial hand; and there are also a life of Alcibiades

(No. 33), not of great importance for its contents, but palaeographically interesting, and a list of Olympian victors (No. 37), whose intrinsic value is greater than its subject and unassuming format might at first suggest. Literary criticism (of a sort) is illustrated by a practically contemporary MS. (No. 35) of the 18th book of Julius Africanus's encyclopaedic *Kestoi;* and in the sphere of Christian literature we have the famous Sayings of Jesus (No. 38), and an interesting fragment of the "Old Latin" version of *Genesis* (No. 39). Two specimens of *sillybi*, or title-slips from rolls (Nos. 29 and 30), enable us to form some idea of the appearance of an ancient bookcase.

The non-literary documents are, of course, the field being so much wider, even less adequately representative than the literary texts, but they also are very various both in content and in form. In ancient states, especially monarchies, the fiscal interest was apt to take the first place in the attention of the government, and this is specially true of Graeco-Roman Egypt. Nothing strikes the student of the Greek papyri more than the elaborate financial organization and the extraordinary multiplicity of taxes which characterize the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods. In the present exhibition there are several papyri relating to taxes. In No. 3 we have a tax-payment by priests, and in Nos. 5 and 44 illustrations of the trade-taxes which were so striking a feature of the financial system. Nos. 8 and 9 illustrate the customs duties levied on carriers and traders entering or leaving the Fayum; and in No. 22 we find, in the beer-tax, an example of the numerous taxes on commodities. Finally, we have in No. 44 evidence of the oppression and extortion often practised by the revenue officials.

The royal monopolies, illustrated by Nos. 20–22, belong, in one aspect, to the sphere of industry, but they had a very important fiscal aspect also; for industries were monopolized, not, like our postal and telegraphic services, for the general good, but as a source of revenue. No. 41 shows us the "Treasury Axe" at work in an attempt to economize by a reduction of staff.

Municipal finance and municipal government are represented by Nos. 7 (revenues of Alexandria), and 43 (police), military affairs by Nos. 6, 12, and 40. Specimens of official letters may be seen in Nos. 20, 21, 40 and 41, of private letters in Nos. 10 and 46. The banking system of Graeco-Roman Egypt, which was very highly developed, finds illustration, rather inadequate it is true, in Nos. 3 and 7. Agriculture is the subject of No. 4, which concerns the official advance of seed-corn to a tenant of royal land, Nos. 11 and 25, which are private loans of seed, No. 23, a sale in advance of wheat, No. 24, a lease of land, and No. 51, which relates to machinery for irrigation. The procedure of the law is illustrated by No. 13, which is an *enteuxis*, one of the methods of instituting legal proceedings, No. 26, in which surety is given for the appearance in court of the defendant in a law-suit, and No. 45, an official report of proceedings in a civil case. The more recreative side of life is

exemplified by No. 42, the announcement of an athletic contest; and music appears at least indirectly in No. 50. Side-lights are thrown on social life by several of the documents shown, among others by No. 45, in which the common practice of exposing unwanted children leads eventually to a law-suit, No. 46, which shows that the pawnbroker was as much in evidence in ancient Egypt as among us, and No. 47, a deed of divorce; and there are examples of various legal transactions. And finally, No. 51 gives us at least a glimpse at one of those vast semi-feudal establishments which dominated Byzantine Egypt and often rendered even the Imperial authority nugatory.

H. I. B.

GREEK AND LATIN PAPYRI.

SECTION I.

The Fayum.

The papyri exhibited in this section of the case are a selection from those allocated to the British Museum out of the proceeds of excavations carried out in the Fayum during the seasons 1895–6 by Messrs. D. G. Hogarth, B. P. Grenfell, and A. S. Hunt, and 1898–9, by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt. The sites excavated and identified were Kôm Ushîm (Karanis), Umm el-'Atl (Bacchias), Ḳaṣr el-Banât (Euhemeria), Wadfa (Philoteris), and Hârît (Theadelphia). The papyri were found mostly among the ruins of houses and temples. The finds of literary texts were few and not of great importance, but many valuable documents were recovered, besides ostraca, coins, and miscellaneous antiquities. A noteworthy discovery was that of the papers of L. Bellenus Gemellus, a specimen of which is here shown (No. 10). The papyri were all published or described, with a selection of the ostraca, a brief catalogue of the coins (by J. G. Milne), and a general account of the excavations and topographical results in *Fayum Towns and their Papyri*, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth, 1900, 17 plates and a map (obtainable from the Egypt Exploration Society, 13, Tavistock Square).

1. Homer, fragments of Book VI. of the *Odyssey*. One small fragment contains part of the title, written at the end of the book. Written in an upright, rather uncertain uncial hand, in the early part of the first century A.D. There are one or two interesting textual points, but the chief value of the fragments is palaeographical, as, having been found with a number of dated documents, they can be approximately dated. Found at Ḳaṣr el-Banât. [*Pap.* 817; *Fayum Towns Pap.* 7.]
2. Commentary on Aristotle, *Topics;* parts of three columns, which refer to Book II., ch. 2. Written in a neat, medium-sized uncial hand, about the end of the first or beginning of the second century A.D. The commentary is very brief, but is of interest owing to its early date. The quotations project into the margin of the column. Found at Hârît. [*Pap.* 815; *Fayum Towns Pap.* 3.]
3. Receipt for tax-payment by the priests of Sokanobkoneus at Bacchias, to the King's account, into the bank of Dionysius. Written in a very cursive hand, with many abbreviations, and dated 20 Thoth, year 9, which is more probably that of Ptolemy

Neos Dionysos [= B.C. 73–2] than of Ptolemy Soter II. [=B.C. 109–8]. Found in the temple of Bacchias, the modern Umm el-'Atl. [*Pap.* 1193; *Fayum Towns Pap.* 18.]

4. ORDER by Straton, scribe of the tenants of royal land, to Acusilaus, corn-collector, to pay, probably as a loan for sowing purposes, two artabas of wheat to a tenant of royal land. Dated 15 Thoth, year 21, probably of Ptolemy Neos Dionysos [= B.C 61–60], and countersigned by Petalus, whose title is not given, and Marres, village scribe. Found in the temple of Bacchias. [*Pap.* 1194; *Fayum Towns Pap.* 18 (*a*).]
5. RECEIPT from Apollonius, agent of Archias, to a stone-mason named Onnophris for the balance of his payment for the tax on his trade. Dated 19 Payni, year 24 [of Augustus; = 13 June, B.C. 6]. The trade-taxes, levied upon almost all craftsmen and trades, were a striking feature of the financial system of Graeco-Roman Egypt. Found at Hârît. [*Pap.* 822; *Fayum Towns Pap.* 44.]
6. ORDER from a centurion named Domitius Annianus to the elders and officials of the village of Taurinus to provide the customary patrol for the district from the watch-tower of the village to the boundaries of the hamlet of Amminus. Written in Greek in a cursive hand of strongly Latin type and dated, in *Latin*, 3 Kal. Apr. [= 30 March]; third–fourth century. Found at Ḳaṣr el-Banât. [*Pap.* 820; *Fayum Towns Pap.* 38.]
7. RECEIPT for the payment into the bank of T. Flavius Eutychides by the overseers of property belonging to the municipality of Alexandria, of various sums of money, proceeds of the rent paid on the property; the money was to be paid, no doubt by the head office of the bank at Alexandria, to one of the municipal officials. Dated on various dates during the 18th and 19th years of Antoninus Pius [= A.D. 155–6]. The document is interesting for the light it throws on municipal finance and on the highly developed banking system of the Graeco-Roman world, and also from a palaeographical point of view, the hand being of an unusual type. Found at Ḳaṣr el-Banât. [*Pap.* 825; *Fayum Towns Pap.* 87.]
8. CUSTOMS-RECEIPT, issued at the custom-house of Dionysias to Alothis, outward bound with four camels, for eight drachmas, paid for the tax known as *eremophylakia*, *i.e.*, a charge for the expenses of the desert patrol. Dated 26 Pachon, 21st year of Antoninus Pius [= 21 May, A.D. 158]. Found at Hârît. [*Pap.* 824A; *Fayum Towns Pap.* 68.]
9. A COLLECTION of customs-receipts, similar to No. 8, given to persons leaving the Fayum. The taxes concerned are those "for the harbour of Memphis," "the 1 per cent. and 2 per cent. duty," and "for the desert patrol." Two of them still bear the seals used to authenticate them. Second-third centuries. [*Pap.* 828A–K; *Fayum Towns Papp.* 167, 169, 172, 173, 179, 181, 184, 185, 187, 188.]

10. Letter from L. Bellenus Gemellus to Epagathus. Dated 23 Pharmouthi, 7th year of Trajan [=18 April, A.D. 104]. This letter forms one of a considerable find of papyri made in a house at Ḳaṣr el-Banât, the ancient Euhemeria, the larger part of which consisted of the papers of a single family. The head of this family was a discharged Roman veteran, L. Bellenus Gemellus, the writer of the present letter, who owned a considerable property in the Fayum. He seems to have lived, partly at least, at Aphroditopolis. The letters and other papers are concerned largely with agricultural matters, and they give a vivid picture of farm life in the Fayum and of the shrewd, kindly, but somewhat imperious, character of Gemellus himself. [*Pap.* 1197; *Fayum Towns Pap.* 254.]

11. Loan by Acusilaus, son of Theon, to Petheus, son of Patron, a Persian of the Epigone, of two and a half artabas of vegetable-seed and six and a half artabas of barley, repayable in Payni of the same year without interest. Dated 6 Artemisius=6 Phamenoth, year 38 of the Era of Caesar [=2 March, A.D. 9]. The document is formally interesting because it is a copy, drawn up in the notarial and record office of Pelusium, in the Division of Themistes, omitting the body of the document (for which a blank space is left), and giving only the date and subscription. Found at Ḳaṣr el-Banât. [*Pap.* 826; *Fayum Towns Pap.* 89.]

12. Military Accounts, in *Latin*, relating to sums of money on deposit. Each unit in the Roman Army had a sort of bank in which such deposits were kept, deductions for this purpose being made not only from special grants (*donativa*), but also from the regular pay. These deductions were credited to the soldiers concerned, their liabilities deducted from them, and the balance paid to the soldiers on their discharge. Written in a cursive hand, in the second half of the second century. Found at Kôm Ushîm. [*Pap.* 1196; *Fayum Towns Pap.* 105.]

13. Petition to Cleopatra III. and Ptolemy Alexander from Theotimus, son of Phileas, a military settler, complaining of an assault and robbery committed upon him and requesting that the assize-judges be instructed to summon the defendants to answer the charge against them. About B.C. 103. This is an example of the class of document known as *enteuxis*, a regular method of initiating legal proceedings. Though addressed to the King, such documents were not actually seen by him, but were almost always dealt with by the local officials in his name. Found at Hârît. [*Pap.* 818; *Fayum Towns Pap.* 12.]

SECTION II.

Hîbeh.

The papyri exhibited in this section of the case are a selection from those allocated to the British Museum out of the proceeds of excavations undertaken by Messrs Grenfell and Hunt in the spring of 1902 at el-Hîbeh, the ancient Ancyronon in the Heracleopolite nome, or bought by them from natives. The papyri found in a second season, January-February, 1903, have not yet been published. All those so far published were obtained from mummy-cartonnage, formed by sticking together successive layers of papyrus (for which purpose papyrus previously used to receive writing was often employed), moulding the mass to the shape of the body, and covering the outside with painted plaster (see No. 18, which shows the appearance of a mummy so encased). In No. 19 is shown a specimen of the paint, and on most of the papyri here exhibited are seen traces of the plaster or glue, removed before the documents could be read. All these papyri belong to the early Ptolemaic period, namely, the reigns of the first three Ptolemies. The excavations brought to light many fragments of Greek literary works, known or unknown, besides documents of various kinds, some of which are of considerable historical importance. Texts or descriptions will be found in *The Hîbeh Papyri*, Part I., edited by B. P. Grenfell and A. S Hunt (1906, 10 plates, obtainable from the Egypt Exploration Society). Sufficient papyri still remain for at least one further volume of equal size.

14. Fragments of a tragedy, doubtfully identified by Grenfell and Hunt with the *Oeneus* of Euripides, but more probably the work of some tragic poet of the fourth century. Written in a very fine and delicate uncial hand of an archaic type, about or soon after the beginning of the third century B.C. These fragments, though so small, are very interesting for their early date. Written not much more than a century after the death of Euripides, they probably give us a not inaccurate idea of the form in which the dramas of the classical period were first read. [*Pap.* 1822; *Hîbeh Pap.* 4.]

15. Comedy of unknown authorship. Written in a square, rather heavy uncial hand of archaic type, about the beginning of the third century B.C.; probably almost or quite contemporary with the original, and the oldest extant MS. of any Greek comedy. On the verso remains some of the plaster and paint with which the papyrus was coated when it was used as mummy cartonnage: see No. 19. [*Pap.* 1824; *Hîbeh Pap.* 6.]

16. Fragments of a comedy, the authorship of which Blass attributed to Philemon, the first poet of the New Comedy, though

the identification has not found general acceptance. In any case the MS., written about the middle of the third century B.C., is not far removed from the time of Philemon, who seems to have died in the second third of that century. [*Pap.* 1823; *Hîbeh Pap.* 5.]

17. Epicharmus, *Gnomai*: introduction, in trochaic tetrameters, to a collection of maxims and reflexions attributed to Epicharmus, probably that compiled by Axiopistus. Written in a very fine, regular uncial hand, not later than the middle of the third century B.C., and probably somewhat earlier. [*Pap.* 1821; *Hîbeh Pap.* 1.]

18. Photograph of a mummy-case, showing the appearance of the cartonnage before it was broken up to obtain the papyrus of which it was composed. [This case is not actually of papyrus cartonnage, but, being similar in appearance, is exhibited in default of an intact cartonnage case. The pattern seen in the photograph should be compared with that partially preserved in No. 19.]

19. Verso of a payrus roll, showing the coating of plaster and paint with which it was covered when used as mummy cartonnage. On the recto are six columns or parts of columns of a rhetorical exercise, written, in a handsome uncial hand of medium size, about the middle of the third century B.C. [*Pap.* 1825: *Hîbeh Pap.* 15.]

20. Official Letter from Demophon to Ptolemaeus, enclosing a copy of a letter from a superior official named Apollodotus, with instructions to collect the dues on the green crops and to accept Syrian cloths [subject to a government monopoly: see Nos. 21 and 22] at 6 drachmas each, with a discount of $1\frac{1}{2}$ obols per 4 drachmas on half the sum. Dated 12 Mecheir, 2nd year [of Ptolemy III. Euergetes :=B.C. 246–5]. Ptolemaeus, the recipient of fourteen letters in the Hîbeh collection, was a minor village official in the Oxyrhynchite nome, perhaps a *phylacites*, or policeman. [*Pap.* 1829; *Hîbeh Pap.* 51.]

21. Official Letter from Asclepiades, who was probably the *Oeconomus*, or Superintendent of the Revenues for the nome, to the cashier Clitarchus, instructing him to pay from the revenues of the 19th year [of Ptolemy III. Euergetes;=B.C. 229–8] to certain weavers various sums of money, the price of fabrics manufactured by them for the government. This letter illustrates the economic organization of Ptolemaic Egypt, in which several of the principal industries, including that of weaving (see also No. 20), were royal monopolies, though these monopolies were not always complete. In the present case, for example, that of textiles, the monopoly was probably not absolute. [*Pap.* 1830; *Hîbeh Pap.* 67.]

22. Receipt for the payment by Harendotes, agent of Taembes, into the collecting office of the Koïte toparchy at Phebichis, of 20 copper drachmas for the beer-tax. Dated 30 Hathyr, 2nd year [of Ptolemy III. Euergetes=B.C. 246–5]. With a signature in Demotic. The brewing industry was a royal monopoly (see No. 21) in Ptolemaic Egypt, but the exact nature and incidence

of the beer-tax is still a matter of uncertainty. [*Pap.* 1838; *Hibeh Pap.* 106.]

23. Sale in Advance by Epimenes, an Athenian, to Timocles, a Chalcidian, of thirty artabas of wheat, to be delivered out of the new crops in the month of Panemus at the village of Peroe [in the Koïte toparchy of the Heracleopolite nome]. Dated in the month of Dius, 5th year, either of Ptolemy I. Soter [=perhaps B.C. 301–0], or more probably of the eponymous priesthood of his brother Menelaus, in which case the year B.C. is uncertain. [Another reading gives the date as the 40th year of Soter (reckoned not from his assumption of the royal title, but from his appointment as satrap), *i.e.*, B.C. 285–4, but this reading seems hardly possible]. If the date is 301–0, this is the earliest dated Greek papyrus in existence, except a papyrus at Berlin; in any case it is one of the earliest. [*Pap.* 1833; *Hibeh Pap.* 84 (a).]

24. Lease for one year by Diodorus, a Macedonian, decurion in the troop of Philon, to Eucrates, of an island in the Oxyrhynchite nome, at a rent of 4 artabas of *olyra* [rye ?] and a quarter of the wheat grown. Dated at Tholthis in the Oxyrhynchite nome, in the month of Gorpiaeus, 25th year of Ptolemy III. Euergetes [=B.C. 223–2]. [*Pap.* 1835; *Hibeh Pap.* 90.]

25. Loan to a priest named Pasis, by the agent of the nomarch, of seed-corn, namely, 40 artabas of wheat, $38\frac{1}{3}$ artabas of barley, and $67\frac{1}{2}$ artabas of *olyra* for use on the royal holding of Philoxenus, repayable from the new crops. Dated in the month of Mesore, 24th year of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus [=B.C. 262–1]. With the priest's signature, in Demotic, at the foot. [*Pap.* 1834; *Hibeh Pap.* 85.]

26. Contract of Surety, by which Mnason, son of Simus, a Thracian of the Epigone, and Hegemon, a Cretan of the Epigone, offer security for the appearance in court of Timocles, son of Simus, a Thracian of the Epigone, in a suit for debt brought against him by Apollonius. Dated 14 Xandicus, 22nd year of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus [=B.C. 264–3]. [*Pap.* 1836; *Hibeh Pap.* 92.]

SECTION III.

Oxyrhynchus.

The papyri exhibited on this side of the case are a selection from those allocated to the British Museum out of the proceeds of excavations carried on by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt at Behnesa, the ancient Oxyrhynchus, during the years 1896–7 and 1903–7. The ruins of Oxyrhynchus had for the most part disappeared, and the excavations had to be undertaken in the rubbish heaps of the ancient city. In the Fayum such rubbish heaps had proved

disappointing owing to the fragmentary condition of so many of the papyri found in them, but at Behnesa they were extraordinarily productive, and the site has indeed proved the richest yet discovered. Already fifteen volumes of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* have appeared, and enough papyri still remain to fill at least as many more; while since the site was abandoned by the Egypt Exploration Society, an Italian papyrological society has conducted excavations there, obtaining further papyri, and large quantities are still constantly being found and placed on the market by native diggers. Behnesa has been specially rich in literary papyri, and has substantially increased our stock of Greek literature. Besides many MSS. of extant works, textually valuable for their early date, we owe to it new poems by Alcaeus, Sappho (a specimen is No. 27), Pindar (No. 28), Bacchylides, Cercidas, Callimachus, portions of several plays by Sophocles (including over half of his satyric play, the *Ichneutae*), Euripides (including a considerable portion of the *Hypsipyle*), and Menander, fragments of important historical works, the most notable of which is the so-called *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (No. 34), orations by Lysias and Hyperides, and many Biblical or theological fragments, including two fragments of the now famous *Sayings of Jesus* (No. 38). The numerous non-literary texts furnish invaluable evidence for the history, law, administration, economic conditions, and social life of Graeco-Roman Egypt, from the later Ptolemaic period (first cent. B.C.) to the eve of the Arab conquest.

27. Sappho, Ode to her brother Charaxus; one of the vain attempts made by the poetess to bring about a reconciliation with her brother, with whom she had quarrelled owing to his infatuation for the famous courtesan Rhodopis. Written in a rather square, slightly sloping uncial hand, probably in the third century. Fragments of several rolls of Sappho's poems have been found at Behnesa. This was the first to be discovered. [*Pap.* 739; *Oxy. Pap.* 7.]

28. Pindar, *Paeans*. When discovered, the only extant MS. of these poems, but some further fragments have since been found by an Italian society at Ashmunein (Hermopolis Magna). Written by two hands in round, upright uncials on the back of a long roll previously (probably in the reign of Domitian, A.D. 81–96) used to receive a census-list. The roll is now much mutilated, but contains portions of at least nine odes. Accents, breathings, and marks of punctuation are frequent, and there are also critical signs; strophes are marked by the *paragraphos* and the *coronis* (see the first column shown). Many scholia are added in the margins, in more than one hand. The portion exhibited contains the end of Paean V., "To Delos," and the beginning of VI., "For the Delphians to Pytho"; the title is written in the left margin of the first column shown. Early second century. This is not the only specimen of Pindar found at Oxyrhynchus. Besides two leaves from a codex of the Olympian Odes, we owe to the

site portions of two *Partheneia*, some fragments of uncertain Odes, and portions of three Dithyrambs, the noble opening of the second of which, describing the music of the dithyramb in Olympus, it is interesting to compare with the description of Apollo's harp-music in the first Pythian Ode. [*Pap.* 1842 *verso* ; *Oxy. Pap.* 841.]

29. Bacchylides, Dithyramb ; part of the Ode variously numbered xvi. or xvii., which occurs in the great papyrus of the Odes of Bacchylides, Pap. 733, the textual evidence of which is thus supplemented by the present MS. At the top is the vellum *sillybus* (see No. 30), bearing the title, "The Dithyrambs of Bacchylides," which shows that the roll contained only the Dithyrambs, not also the epinician Odes. Written in a neat but informal cursive hand, about the middle of the second century ; the accents and punctuation marks by a second hand. Fragments of *scolia*, or drinking-songs, by Bacchylides, a class of composition not represented in Pap. 733, have also been found during the Society's excavations at Behnesa. [*Pap.* 2056 ; *Oxy. Pap.* 1091.]

30. Sillybus, or label, formerly attached to a roll and giving the title of the work : "Sophron's *Mimes about Women*." Written in a large rounded uncial hand, about the end of the first century A.D. Till the victory of the modern form of book—the codex, which was in use for literary works in the first century A.D., but did not banish the older form for several centuries—the works of ancient literature were read in the form of rolls. A roll probably bore the title of the work it contained on its outer edge ; but when the roll was placed in the *capsa*, or case, the equivalent of our modern bookshelves, the title was not visible, and to facilitate handy reference, it was repeated on a sillybus, or narrow strip either of papyrus (as here) or vellum (as in No. 29), which was attached to the roll and hung down in front. Thus it was easy to find any work required. In the present case only the title remains, the roll containing "Sophron's *Mimes about Women*" being lost. [*Pap.* 801 ; *Oxy. Pap.* 301.]

31. Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, lines 375–385 and 429–441 ; part of a leaf from a papyrus codex, written in a small, carefully formed, rounded uncial hand, not later than the fifth century, and therefore some six centuries earlier than the oldest MS. of Sophocles previously extant. Several MSS. of Sophocles, some of them considerably earlier than the present one, have been found at Behnesa. The most notable of them is Oxy. Pap. 1174 (now B.M. Pap. 2068, but not yet transferred from Oxford), a second century roll containing probably more than half of the satyric play, the *Ichneutae*. The present MS. is here chosen to illustrate the use, in the later Graeco-Roman period, of the codex form in preference to the roll, even for literary works ; see also No. 33. [*Pap.* 743 ; *Oxy. Pap.* 22.]

32. Cercidas, *Meliambi*. The portion exhibited shows the first poem in the MS., and the earlier part of the second. Written in regular, rather narrow, upright uncials in the second century,

with marginal notes in a cursive hand of the same period. Cercidas the philosopher-poet and statesman of Megalopolis (third century B.C.), an adherent of the Cynic school, was known, before the discovery of the present MS., by only nine small fragments quoted in later writers. [*Pap.* 2054; *Oxy. Pap.* 1082.]

33. Life of Alcibiades, by an anonymous writer; a leaf from a vellum codex, written in handsome, regular uncials, probably in the fifth century. This is a fine specimen of the early vellum codex, and may be compared with the papyrus codex shown as No. 31. Papyrus was originally used only in rolls, and there can be little doubt that the codex form was first adopted for vellum MSS., the employment for this purpose of papyrus being later. The hand of the present MS. should be compared with those of the three great Biblical codices, the Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Alexandrinus, specimens of which are shown in Case G. In the fineness of the strokes and size of the letters it resembles the Vaticanus, but the forms of the letters are of somewhat later type, such as that of the Alexandrinus. [*Pap.* 1523; *Oxy. Pap.* 411.]

34. History of Greece, usually known as the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*. Written in two uncial hands, about the end of the second century, on the verso of a land-survey register. The authorship of this work, of which only a small portion is here shown, and which in historical importance is second, among papyri so far discovered, only to the *Athenaion Politeia* (B.M.Pap. 131 verso), is still a matter of dispute. The only known historians whose claims can be seriously considered are Theopompus, Ephorus, and Cratippus. Theopompus, at first favoured by Grenfell and Hunt in the original edition, is now regarded by most scholars as unlikely. Cratippus is supported by several scholars of eminence, but on the whole the case for Ephorus, at first regarded as out of the question, is gaining ground. The extant portions of the work deal, very fully, with the events of the years 396 and 395 B.C. [*Pap.* 1843; *Oxy. Pap.* 842.]

35. Julius Africanus, *Kestoi*; the conclusion of Book xviii., giving, in accordance with the regular custom, the title at the end, "Julius Africanus's 18th *Kestos*." Written in good, rounded uncials, some time between A.D. 221, after which date the work was composed, and A.D. 276, when the verso was used to receive the will of Aurelius Hermogenes, a president of the senate of Oxyrhynchus, and thus almost contemporary with the author. The *Kestoi* was a work of an encyclopaedic character; the present fragment deals with questions of literary criticism and contains the interesting biographical statement, "at Rome, near the baths of Alexander, in the beautiful library at the Pantheon, which I myself designed for the Emperor." The discovery of this MS. settled in the affirmative the question whether the Africanus who wrote the *Kestoi* was identical with Julius Africanus the Christian chronographer and friend of Origen. [*Pap.* 2040; *Oxy. Pap.* 412.]

36. Epitome of Livy, books xxxvii.–xl. and xlviii.–lv., in *Latin*. Written in a handsome semi-uncial hand, probably not later than the end of the third century; another portion of the papyrus is shown in Case C (N. 60). The verso was subsequently used, in the first half of the fourth century, to receive the Epistle to the Hebrews. Despite its handsome appearance the MS. was evidently written by a scribe very ignorant of Latin, and is full of extraordinary blunders. Its historical importance is nevertheless considerable. In books xxxvii.–xl. Livy's work is extant, so that the scale and plan of this epitome can be estimated; in xlviii.–lv. it is lost, and the epitome, constructed on quite different principles from the extant one, is a welcome addition to our evidence for the history of the period covered. [*Pap.* 1532 *recto; Oxy. Pap.* 668.]
37. List of victors at the Olympian Games; remains of two columns, written in a small semi-cursive hand of about the middle of the third century on the verso of a papyrus containing an account in money. Though imperfect and by no means ornamental in appearance, this papyrus is of considerable historical importance. It enables us to fix or to correct the dates of several odes of Pindar and Bacchylides, to establish certain dates and attributions in the sphere of Greek sculpture, and to clear up more than one difficult problem. Even more valuable perhaps than the evidence on single points is the general conclusion to which the papyrus leads, that the statements of late writers and commentators rest upon a more solid basis and deserve more credence than some modern scholars have been willing to admit. Formally, it is of interest as illustrating the common habit of using, for less elaborate literary MSS., the verso of rolls already utilized on the recto; there are several examples of the practice in this exhibition. [*Pap.* 1185 *verso; Oxy. Pap.* 222.]
38. Sayings of Jesus; an incomplete column from a collection of sayings written on the back of a roll previously used to receive a land-survey list. Written in upright informal uncials of medium size in the second half of the third century. This was the second MS. of sayings found at Behnesa. Another, a leaf of a papyrus codex, less imperfect than the present one, was the first papyrus from Oxyrhynchus to be published, and may probably contain another portion of the same collection. The present one includes the introduction to the work. The compilation probably dates in its present form from not later than the middle of the second century, and more probably was rather earlier than that, but as to its exact nature, its sources and authenticity, and the restoration of the missing portions of some of the sayings contained in the present fragment controversy is still rife. [*Pap.* 1531 *verso*; *Oxy. Pap.* 654.]
39. Genesis, v.–vi., in the so-called "Old Latin" version; *i.e.*, the older Latin version of the Bible, subsequently superseded by the Vulgate version of St. Jerome. A portion of a leaf from a

vellum codex written, in a good uncial hand, not later than the fourth century. The Old Latin Bible, having gone out of use with the gradual diffusion of the Vulgate, survives only in part, and the present MS. is for about half its contents the sole authority for the text. [*Pap.* 2052 ; *Oxy. Pap.* 1073.]

40. Letter, in *Latin*, from C. Minicius Italus, prefect of Egypt, to Celsianus, prefect of the third Ituraean cohort, announcing the addition to the cohort of six recruits, whose names, ages, and distinguishing marks, if any, are given. At the foot is a note by Avidius Arrianus, the Adjutant, of the receipt of the letter and its entry in the register of the cohort, vi. Kal. Mart., 6th year of Trajan [=24 Feb., A.D. 103]. [*Pap.* 2049 ; *Oxy. Pap.* 1022.]

41. Letter from Servaeus Africanus, a high official, perhaps the *epistrategus* or *procurator usiacus*, to the strategi (district governors) of the Heptanomis and Arsinoite nome, complaining of the useless multiplication of officials in the administration of the estates of the Treasury, in which many people "have devised for themselves various titles, such as administrators, secretaries, or superintendents, by which means they secure no advantage to the Treasury, but swallow up its surplus," and ordering that only one superintendent shall be appointed to each estate, "with power to choose two, or at most three, other persons to assist him in his duties." Dated 16 Thoth, 5th year [of Diocletian] and 4th [of Maximian ;=13 Sept., A.D. 288]. [*Pap.* 752 ; *Oxy. Pap.* 58.]

42. Proclamation by Dioscurides, *curator* [the chief municipal official] of Oxyrhynchus, announcing a gymnastic display by the youths (*ephebi*) of the town. Dated 23 Tybi, after the 6th consulship of Licinius Augustus and the 2nd of Licinius Caesar [=18 Jan. A.D. 323]. The text of the actual proclamation is :—" The assault at arms by the youths will take place to-morrow, the 24th. Tradition, no less than the distinguished character of the festival, requires that they should do their utmost in the gymnastic display. The spectators will be present at two performances." The hand is a good example of the large "chancery" script employed in documents emanating from the higher officials ; but the corrections show that the present text is only a draft. At the foot are three lines of shorthand. [*Pap.* 747 ; *Oxy. Pap.* 42.]

43. List of watchmen stationed, no doubt during the night, in the various streets and public buildings of Oxyrhynchus. Early fourth century ; written on the verso of a roll used in A.D. 295 for military accounts. This papyrus is of considerable interest and importance, both as illustrating the method of policing a town of Graeco-Roman Egypt, and for the topographical evidence concerning Oxyrhynchus which it contains. The watch was supplied by residents called on compulsorily to undertake the duty, just as with our jury service. The following (top of col. iv.) is an example of the contents :—" By the Pses Gate, Valerius, son of Sarapas, living in the house of Schirax, behind the Capitolium.

. . . By the Gymnasium, Parion, son of Nilus. In the Gymnasium, 2 watchmen, viz., Thonis, son of Athenodorus, Heracles, son of Isidorus, brother of Diogenes. By the tetrastyle of Thoëris, Theon, son of Philosarapis." [*Pap.* 748 *verso ; Oxy. Pap.* 43 *verso.*]

44. Petition to the strategus Tib. Claudius Pasion from a weaver named Theon, complaining of illegal exactions from him by Apollophanes, ex-collector of the trade-tax on weavers, in the 1st and 9th years of Claudius [A.D. 41 and 48–49]. Apollophanes seems to have been a flagrant offender ; several similar complaints against him have been found at Behnesa. For the trade-taxes see No. 5. [*Pap.* 796 ; *Oxy. Pap.* 285.]

45. Report, extracted from the official minutes of Tib. Claudius Pasion, the strategus, of a law-case, tried by him, concerning the identity of a child. Pesouris had adopted a foundling child, whom he placed in the charge of a nurse named Saraeus. According to the nurse, the boy died while in her charge, and Pesouris carried off her own child ; according to Pesouris, the child was the foundling, which he took away because it was being starved. The governor's judgment is :—" Since from its features the child appears to be that of Saraeus, if she and her husband will make a written affidavit that the foundling entrusted to her by Pesouris died, I give judgment, in accordance with the decision of our lord the prefect, that she have her own child on paying back the money she has received." It appears from another papyrus found at Behnesa that Pesouris was dissatisfied with this judgment, and refused to give up the child, whereupon the husband of Saraeus appealed to the prefect. Dated 3 Pharmouthi, 9th year of Claudius [=March 29, A.D. 49.] [*Pap.* 746 ; *Oxy. Pap.* 37.]

46. Letter from Dionysius to his mother Tetheus, announcing the despatch to her of 112 silver drachmas, 108 of which she is to use in getting his clothes out of pawn. He regrets his inability to send more, but adds that he has borrowed to send even this. Second century. [*Pap.* 1530 ; *Oxy. Pap.* 530.]

47. Deed of Divorce, dissolving (after little more than a year's marriage) the union between Thaësis, daughter of Thonis, and Petosarapis, son of Thompecysis. In this document Thaësis addresses her late husband, acknowledging the return of her dowry and releasing him from all engagements. Dated . . . Germanicus (the day of the month is not filled in), 16th year of Domitian [=A.D. 96], at Oxyrhynchus. [*Pap.* 1187 ; *Oxy. Pap.* 266.]

48. Contract between Tryphon, son of Dionysius and Ptolemaeus, son of Pausirion, weaver, both of Oxyrhynchus, for the apprenticeship of the former's son, Thoönis, to the latter for the term of one year. The boy is to be fed and clothed by his father, but Ptolemaeus is to pay five drachmas monthly for food and twelve drachmas at the end of the term for clothing. Tryphon may not take away the boy before the end of the term, and days lost are

to be made up at the end of the year or compensated for. At the foot is the subscription of Ptolemaeus written for him by a third party, as he is illiterate. Dated 21 Sebastos, 13th year of Nero [=18 Sept., A.D. 66]. [*Pap.* 794; *Oxy. Pap.* 275.]

49. AGREEMENT by which Lucia, also called Thaïsas, daughter of Lucius, guarantees Sarapion, also called Clarus, son of Sarapion, who had become surety for the repayment of a loan with interest made to Lucia on the security of certain property, that he shall not be called upon for payment of the debt. In default she shall forfeit to him the ownership of the hypothecated property. Dated . . . Mecheir (the day of the month is not filled in), 13th year of Domitian [=A.D. 94], at Oxyrhynchus. [*Pap.* 793; *Oxy. Pap.* 270.]

50. ORDER from Eutrygius to his assistant Dioscorus to pay to the organist Gorgonius two artabas of corn. Dated 21 Tybi, 38th=7th year [of the "Eras of Oxyrhynchus";=16 Jan., A.D. 362]. "Organist" (*hydraules*) means a player on the hydraulic organ, invented by Ctesibius of Alexandria. [*Pap.* 762; *Oxy. Pap.* 93.]

51. RECEIPT given to Flavius Apion through his majordomo Menas by Aurelius Surus, son of Pebes, of Cyothis, in the Upper Cynopolite nome, of machinery for the purpose of irrigation. Dated 16 Thoth, 229th=198th year [of the so-called "Eras of Oxyrhynchus"], 1st indiction [=13 Sept., A.D.552]. There are many documents of the same kind among the archives of the Apion family, and others addressed to other landowners have been found at Behnesa. The present example, from a nome other than the Oxyrhynchite, gives some idea of the wide extent of this all-powerful family's estates. [*Pap.* 776; *Oxy. Pap.* 197.]

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